1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.

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The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
• 668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
[625] it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
466 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters. Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
*[249] ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

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That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

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[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[794] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
• [6068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[76] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[77]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[76] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[77] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384-88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513-19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[a]

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The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[a] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilhcos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Sousa, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[99] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[99] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 125 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

Dr. José Alves Cardoso e Silva

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[91] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[92]

[91] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[92] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155–56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–4.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[93] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[94] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[93] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[94] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the emperor and by the fact that abolition had been decreed *without* indemnification. The republican propaganda, which had been active since the convention of Itú, gained its victory without great effort since, as it is only fair to remember, the tolerant spirit of the Emperor and the simplicity of his living had contributed greatly to the development of democratic ideas.

During this era of great transformation, in which the intellectuals and the youth of Brazil threw themselves with enthusiasm, we were all swept by the reform wave. I would not have made the Republic just as it was made; but I accepted it as a logical result of its historical antecedents and the democratic atmosphere then dominant in America.

The province of São Paulo soon took the lead in the extensive reforms which the country was experiencing. Political administration, agricultural development, immigration, all were stimulated by the new regime. I collaborated in all this as a citizen and as a public servant in proportion to my ability. In 1896 I was Chief Engineer of Sanitation for the state of São Paulo, a service which I directed for some years. With General Jardim and Salles de Oliveira I served on the Commission which organized the Escola Politecnica of São Paulo during the governorship of Bernardino de Campos. With Antonio Pisa, Cezario Motta, Horacio de Carvalho, Conselheiro Manoel Antonio Duarte de Azevedo, and others, we founded the Instituto Historico e Geographico of São Paulo, and I directed the construction of the building which still houses it. During the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of Padre José de Anchieta's birth, which, through the initiative of Eduardo Prado, one of our most illustrious journalists and authors, launched a literary movement, I collaborated in the famed "Conferencias Anchietanas," which were to mark an epoch in the literary life of Brazil. My liking for historical studies then led me into the examination of documents from the first years of Brazilian colonization and the publication of the results of such research as monographs or articles in magazines of a scientific character. In this way I made a modest contribution.

It was during this period that I gave my leisure time over to the study of our indigenous races. I wrote and published some observations concerning the language of the Cayuas of the Lower Paranapanema and some data on the Guayanas of São Paulo. I published

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution [175] [668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [557] [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He [178] himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their assertion [665] by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

[113] 4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

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About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

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*563 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of
•668 Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some
668 workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the
668 news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper, called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

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During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician, and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

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1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

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2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive *563 183 829 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian *563 668 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 668 829 [554] The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

5: Azevedo--137 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*563 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others con-
•668 sider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they
829 are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against re-
671 ligious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have
829 only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia: a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro